tax with a view to revenue. The ſtate of South-Carolina contributes as largely to the revenue of the United States for its population and wealth, as any ſtate in the union. To impoſe a tax falling excluſively on her agriculture would be the height of injuſtice, and I hope that the Repreſentatives of the landed intereſt of the nation, will reſiſt every meaſure, however general in its appearance, the tendency of which is to lay a partial and unequal tax on agriculture.

Mr. BEDINGER obſerved that the gentleman from South Carolina had ſo fully expreſſed the opinions he entertained that he ſhould ſay but little. Every body who knew his opinions on ſlavery might think ſtrange the vote he ſhould give againſt the reſolution. There was not a member on the floor more inimical to ſlavery than he was. Still he was of opinion that the effect of the preſent reſolution, if adopted, would be injurious. He ſhould, therefore, vote againſt it.

Mr. BARD—It was my wiſh that the queſtion before the committee might be taken without diſcuſſion, but as the gentleman from S. Carolina has preferred a different courſe, I beg permiſſion to offer a few thoughts on the ſubject.

As to the conſtitutionality of the meaſure, I believe there can be but one opinion. It is pretty well underſtood, that the union of the ſtates was a matter of compromiſe; and indeed the language of the conſtitution ſuggeſts the idea, that the convention which formed that inſtrument muſt have had the emancipation of ſlaves under their conſideration. They had achieved liberty, and their object was to tranſmit it to poſterity; and we cannot permit ourſelves to ſuppoſe that men whoſe minds were ſo enriched with liberal ſentiments, and who had ſo often reiterated the ſacred truth, "That all men were born equally free," I ſay we cannot ſuppoſe that they would conſider ſlavery to be a ſubject unworthy their diſcuſſion; and it appears to be equally ſuggeſted, that the convention were not all agreed to an abſolute prohibition of the ſlave trade; but yielded ſo far that a duty or tax might be impoſed on the future importation of that deſcription of people. The queſtion then is only on the policy of laying this tax—And it appears that there can be no doubt on this queſtion.

The ſlave trade, *in terms*, makes African men, mere articles of traffic; and of courſe they muſt be as much a ſubject of commercial regulations as any other ſpecies of *foreign manufactures*. The tax will be high or low in proportion to the price the article will bring. And if my information is correct, a ſlave will bring four hundred dollars; the tax then is but two and half per cent. which is many degrees lower than any other imported articles pay. The tax is a general one; no ſtate in the union is exempted; it will operate wherever its object can be found. It may be that ſome ſtates will pay more and ſome leſs; but it will be at the option of any ſtate how much, or whether, it will pay any of this tax; for it will be juſt as the ſtate ſhall pleaſe to deal in this article of commerce. And on the ſcore of uniformity no objection can lie againſt the tax—the ſlaves have already been the object of direct taxation, and Vermont paid none of that tax; becauſe ſhe had none of that kind of taxable property; and yet I never heard it complained of as not being uniform. It is ſaid the tax is impolitic, becauſe it will not prevent the importation of Africans into our country. This may, indeed, be the caſe; and I believe it will be but a feeble check to the trade, if not aided by nobler motives. However, if any of the ſtates engage in the trade, the tax will have two effects; it will add ſomething to the revenue; and it will ſhew to the world that the general government are oppoſed to ſlavery, and ready to improve their power as far as it will go, for preventing it. Both theſe ends are valuable; but I deem the latter to be the more important one; for we owe it indiſpenſibly to ourſelves, and to the world whoſe eyes are on our government, to maintain its republican character—Every thing compared to a good name is "Traſh"; and it reſts with us whether we will preſerve or deſtroy it. If our government will reſpect power only, and juſtify whatever it may be able to do, then will our hands be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt us; and Americas will become the ſcorn of mankind.

On what principles, whether moral or political, I do not know, but ſo it was, that about the cloſe of the revolutionary war, the Quaker ſociety in South Carolina brought the ſlave-trade, or perhaps ſlavery itſelf under their ſerious conſideration, and declared it to be unjuſtifiable—They afterwards, in 1796, or 1797 addreſſed congreſs on the ſubject; but failed in their object, and for no other reaſon, probably, than that the powers of congreſs did not reach it.

Some years ago the ſtates, even thoſe in which ſlaves abound moſt, loudly exclaimed againſt the further importation of that claſs of people, and by their laws prohibited their traffic—Either they did this on moral principles, or conſiderations of policy—In 1803 congreſs ſtretched out her arm to aid the ſtate governments againſt the evil they ſo much deprecated, and paſſed a law inflicting fines and forfeitures, on every man who ſhould be found importing ſlaves into the United States—what might have been the iſſue of their combined exertions, or how far they might have ultimately ſecured their end, I cannot tell; but as to South Carolina, they have become nugatory; by repealing her prohibitory law ſhe has rejected the interference of congreſs—why that ſtate has done ſo; why ſhe has abandoned a meaſure which, the other day, was conſidered ſo much her intereſt, I know not, nor is it for me to offer any conjectures. South Carolina is a ſovereign ſtate, and has a right to conſult and purſue her own intereſt, ſo far as the general good will permit; for hitherto ſhe may come and no farther—Every ſtate has a right to import ſlaves if it ſo chuſes, and congreſs has a right to tax all the ſlaves imported—but when the powers of a ſtate though they be conſtitutional, operate againſt the general intereſt, then the exerciſe of thoſe powers are politically wrong, becauſe it is contrary to the fundamental principle of ſociety, the public good, which is paramount to law and the conſtitution itſelf—And in my opinion the importation of ſlaves is hoſtile to the United States—to import ſlaves, is to import enemies into our country: it is to import men who muſt be our natural enemies, if ſuch there can be. Their circumſtances, their barbariſm, their reflections, their hopes and fears render them an enemy of the worſt deſcription.

Gentlemen tell us, though I can hardly think them ſerious, that the people of this deſcription, can never ſyſtematize a rebellion. I will not mention facts, it is ſufficient to ſay that experience ſpeaks a different language—the rigour of the laws, and the impatience of the ſlaves will mutually encreaſe each other, until the artifices of the one are exhauſted, and until, on the other hand, human nature ſinks under its wrongs, or obtains the reſtoration of its rights—the negroes are in every family; they are waiting on every table; they are preſent on numerous occaſions when the converſation turns on political ſubjects and cannot fail to catch ideas that will excite diſcontentment with their condition. And what is to be expected from the people of this deſcription, but that they will ſome day, and eſpecially if their importation continues, produce a diſturbance that may not be eaſily quieted, or kindle a flame that may not be readily extinguiſhed—If ten thouſand of them have been, as it is ſaid, ſmuggled into the United States, in the courſe of a year or two paſt; and if ten or fifteen thouſand of them may now be legally brought annually into our country, for four years to come, it will hardly be imagined that the general intereſt will be unaffected by ſuch an importation.

If they are ignorant, they are, however, ſuſceptible of inſtruction, and capable of becoming proficients in the art of war—to be convinced of this we have only to look at St. Domingo.

There the negroes felt their wrongs, and have avenged them; they learned the rights of man, and aſſerted them: they have wreſted the power from their oppreſſors, and have become maſters of the iſland—If they are unarmed, they may be armed—European powers have armed the Indians againſt us, and why may they not arm the negroes? And if they are already as numerous as is conſiſtent with ſafety, it muſt be extreme impolicy to import more: it is to accelerate an event which we cannot contemplate without pain.

Slavery is not only impolic as it affects the ſtrength and tranquility of the United States; but as it prevents their wealth, which can only grow out of ſociety where the arts, ſciences, and manufactories are cultivated and improved. But, Sir, I deſpiſe to argue on the advantages, or diſadvantages of what is contrary to the genius of our government; what is radically unjuſt; and violates the principles of morality.

The Americans boaſt of being the moſt enlightened people in the world—they certainly enjoy the greateſt ſhare of liberty; and underſtand the principles of rational government more generally than any other nation on earth. They have denounced tyranny and oppreſſion; they have declared their country to be an aſſylum for the oppreſſed of all nations. But will foreigners concede this high character to us, when they examine our cenſus, and find that we now hold a million of men, in the moſt degraded ſlavery! This is nearly one fifth of our whole population; in ſome of the ſtates they are nearly the half. Here then is a fact that muſt have weight to ſink our national character in ſpite of volumes of praiſe to ſupport it. It is a fact from which foreigners will infer, that we poſſeſs the principles of tyranny, but want the power to carry them into operation, except againſt the untutored and defenceleſs African. If then we hold a conſiſtency of national character in any eſtimation, we will give every diſcouragement in our power to the further importation of ſlaves. It is in this view that the tax contemplated by the reſolution is principally to be conſidered, and only incidentally as matter of revenue.

But, Sir, I preſume, on permiſſion to ſay, that the importation of ſlaves is in direct contradiction to the principles of morality. On theſe principles the conſtitution of the United States is founded; on them every law ought to be founded; otherwiſe legiſlation will progreſs in the dark, and every ſtep deviate ſtill more from its true direction. "Do unto others as ye would that others ſhould do unto you," is a law paramount to all human inſtitutions; it is the fundamental law of human nature; of chriſtianity, and of every rational government—it is a law which we wiſh all men to reſpect in their dealings with us—and it is a law which every man confeſſes he ought to obſerve, and, in ſpite of all the ſophiſtry of depravity, muſt acknowledge himſelf ſubject to its cognizance. I need not, nor will I, aſk if we have obſerved this law as to the Africans; for it muſt be obvious to every man, that it is not poſſible to violate it in a greater degree than we have done towards that unfortunate and wretched people.

But, notwithſtanding all the information our country enjoys, numbers in the eaſtern ſtates have been embarked, for ſome years paſt, in the cruel traffic of ſlaves, and ſmuggling them into other ſtates. And it is to be feared, that many of them are at this moment, preparing means to ſtimulate the barbarous tribes of Africa to war againſt each other; mutually to torture every human feeling—to violate the ſtrongeſt ties of nature and affection—to tear the huſband from the wife, and the wife from the huſband—the parent from the child, and the child from the parent; and are coolly and deliberately forging irons, that they may have the infernal pleaſure of coolly and deliberately riveting them on the unfortunate men, women and children, who may fall into their hands. Such an enterprize, ſuch a traffic as this, muſt affect our national character; it is ſelf evidently wrong, and at firſt view muſt receive the diſapprobation of every diſintereſted man. The genius of our conſtitution, the mildneſs of its adminiſtration, and the prevailing ſentiment of the nation, muſt ſanction every meaſure to diſcourage the farther admiſſion of a people whoſe numbers already excite moſt painful ſenſations. In a word, the tax is conſtitutional, no article can bear a tax better than the one here propoſed—it is an uniform tax, and juſtified on the ground of ſound policy; and ſo far as it tends to diſcourage the ſlave trade, it is ſupported by every principle of virtue. If I have uttered a word offenſive to any member of the Houſe, it will not be attributed to deſign, but to an honeſt ſolicitude to promote the honor and intereſt of our country.

(To be continued)

WASHINGTON CITY.

WEDNESDAY, February 29.

REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS, *of* President & Vice-President.

At a meeting of one hundred and ten Republican members of the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States, held at the Capitol in Waſhington, on the evening of the 25th of February, 1804,

Stephen R. Bradley, of the Senate, was unanimouſly called to the *chair*.

After a very able diſcuſſion of the importance of ſelecting the moſt proper characters for the next preſidential election,

THOMAS JEFFERSON was unanimouſly nominated for the next PRESIDENT—and the ballots being taken GEORGE CLINTON, governor of New-York, was by a very large majority, nominated for the next VICE-PRESIDENT.

A reſpectable committee, conſiſting of a member from each ſtate, was appointed to make proper arrangements.

House of Representatives.

Monday, Feb. 27.

Mr. Elliot, from the committee to whom was referred the petition of Benjamin Emmons, made the following report:

The petitioner, in behalf of himſelf and ſixty aſſociates, inhabitants of the ſtate of Vermont, prays that Congreſs would grant to them, for the purpoſe of ſettlement and cultivation, a tract of the territory lately acquired by the United States, on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, near the mouth of the Ohio, of ſix miles ſquare, on ſuch terms and conditions as the ſtates compoſing the Union have heretofore granted their lands to ſettlers, or as congreſs ſhall deem proper.

While the committee feel no diſpoſition to expreſs an opinion unfavourable to the prayer of the petitioners, they believe it would be improper to grant it at the preſent moment. Without preſuming to anticipate the courſe which it may be the intereſt and policy of the United States to purſue, in the diſpoſition of the public lands in the territories weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, they beg leave to recommend that the farther conſideration of the prayer of the ſaid petition be poſtponed until the next ſeſſion of Congreſs.

Agreed to.

The Houſe went into a committee of the whole on the reſolution of Mr. Kennedy to lay out the money collected for the relief of ſeamen in the ports wherein it is collected.

The committee, after ſome diſcuſſion of the reſolution, roſe and obtained leave to ſit again.

Mr. Randolph, from the committee of ways and means reported a bill making appropriations for carrying into effect the convention between the U. States and Spain of the 12th of Aug. 1802.

Referred to a committee of the whole Houſe.

The poſt office bill was read a third time and paſſed.

Mr. Thomas moved a reſolution, declaring that the acceptance by John Smith of a ſeat in the Senate, had vacated his ſeat in the Houſe, and inſtructing the Speaker to inform the Executive of New-York of the vacancy.

Agreed to.

Mr. Leib preſented a bill to amend the charter of George Town, which was made the order for Wedneſday.

The conſideration of the report of the joint committee on an adjournment of Congreſs was poſtponed to Friday.

The Houſe went into committee of the whole—Mr. Varnum in the chair—on the report of a ſelect committee on the memorial of Tenneſſee, &c.—which concludes with a reſolution for the appropriation of   dollars to defray ſuch expences as the Preſident may ſanction for holding any treaty or treaties with any nation of Indians ſouth of the Ohio, to extinguiſh Indian rights.

On motion of Dr. Dickſon the blank was filled with 15,000 dollars.

A debate then enſued on the reſolution, which was ſupported by Meſſrs. Dickſon, Lyon, G.W. Campbell, Alſton, Blackledge and Holland; and oppoſed by Meſſrs. S. L. Mitchill, R. Griſwold and Gregg—when the queſtion was taken, and the reſolution negatived—Ayes 39—Noes 50.

Tuesday, February 28.

The Houſe went into a committee of the whole—Mr. *Dawson* in the chair—on the bill from the Senate, *for erecting Louisiana into two territories, and providing for the temporary government thereof.*

On reading the 4th ſection, as follows:

Sect. 4. The legiſlative powers ſhall be veſted in the governor, and in thirteen of the moſt fit and diſcreet perſons of the territory, to be called the legiſlative council, who ſhall be appointed annually by the Preſident of the United States, from among thoſe holding real eſtate therein, and who ſhall have reſided one year, at leaſt, in the ſaid territory, and hold no office of profit under the territory, or the United States. The governor, by and with advice and conſent of the ſaid legiſlative council, or of a majority of them, ſhall have power to alter, modify, or repeal the laws which may be in force at the commencement of this act. Their legiſlative powers ſhall alſo extend to all the rightful powers of legiſlation; but no law ſhall be valid, which is inconſiſtant with the conſtitution and laws of the United States, or which ſhall lay any perſon under reſtraint, burthen, or diſability, on account of his religious opinions, profeſſions or worſhip; in all which he ſhall be free to maintain his own, and not burthened for thoſe of another. The governor ſhall publiſh throughout the ſaid territory, all the laws which ſhall be made, and ſhall, from time to time, report the ſame to the Preſident of the United States, to be laid before congreſs; which if diſaproved of by congreſs, ſhall thenceforth be of no force. The governor, or legiſlative council, ſhall have no power over the primary diſpoſal of the ſoil, nor to tax the lands of the United States, nor to interfere with the claims to land within the ſaid territory. The governor ſhall convene and prorogue the legiſlative council, whenever he may deem it expedient. It ſhall be his duty to obtain all the information in his power, in relation to the cuſtoms, habits, and diſpoſitions of the inhabitants of the ſaid territory, and communicate the ſame, from time to time, to the preſident of the United States.

The diſcuſſion was opened by Dr. Leib, who moved to ſtrike out the words giving the Governor the power of proroguing the Legiſlative Council.

Mr. *Gregg* declared himſelf not only in favor of diveſting the Governor of this power, but likewiſe in favor of limiting the appointment of the legiſlative council by the Preſident to one year, after which they ſhould be choſen by the people of Louiſiana.

Mr. *Leib* declared his coincidence in opinion with his colleague.

Mr. *Varnum* expreſſed his opinion that the inhabitants of Louiſiana were entitled, under the treaty, to the rights of ſelf-government; and with the view of trying the ſenſe of the Houſe on this principle he moved that the committee ſhould riſe, in which caſe he ſaid he would move the reference of the bill, for amendment, to a ſelect committee.

Mr. *Elliot* was of opinion that the bill, with a few amendments which could be eaſily made, would compriſe the beſt ſyſtem for the government of the people of Louiſiana.

Mr. *Gregg* thought it would be beſt to take a queſtion on the principle contained in the ſection before the making a reference to a ſelect committee.

Mr. *Eustis* oppoſed the riſing of the committee, and advocated the principle of the bill.

Mr. *Lyon* ſpoke in favour of the riſing of the committee, with a view to extend the elective franchiſe to the people of Louiſiana.

Mr. *Lucas* ſupported the proviſions of the bill.

Mr. *Macon* (Speaker) ſuggeſted the propriety of waving the motion for the committee riſing, and ſubſtituting a motion to ſtrike out the 4th ſection.

Mr. *Varnum* having ſo modified his motion,

Mr. *Macon* ſupported it, and urged the propriety of extending the ſecond grade of territorial government to Louiſiana.

Meſſrs. Elmer, Leib, and G. W. Campbell ſupported; and Mr. Huger oppoſed this motion, when the committee roſe without any queſtion being taken and obtained leave to ſit again; when the Houſe adjourned.

(Debate hereafter.)

COMMUNICATION.

On Saturday the 18th inſtant Aaron Burr was, by a reſpectable meeting of republican citizens from different parts of the ſtate of New-York, convened at the Tontine coffee houſe in the city of Albany, William Tabor Eſq. of the aſſembly in the chair, and the honorable Joſeph Annin Eſq. of the Senate, ſecretary, unanimouſly nominated as governor of that ſtate at the enſuing election. The ſame nomination we learn was alſo made on the 20th inſtant, in the city of New York, by a numerous and reſpectable meeting conſiſting of committees from the different wards, with an aſſemblage of attending citizens and electors—Col. Marinus Willet in the chair, Ezekiel Robins Eſq. Secretary.

FOR SALE OR RENT.

OR will be exchanged for property as eligibly ſituated in Alexandria.

THE two ſtory brick Houſe on the north of the Capitol corner of 1ſt and B ſtreets at preſent occupied by Mr. Gregory, poſſeſſion may be had next month, terms of ſale or rent may be had of Mr. Joſeph Hodgſon, near the Weſt Market, & of barter for property in Alexandria of Matthew Brown, Baltimore.

Feb. 29—6t

WANTED,

TWO Negro Boys for private uſe between 12 and 16 years of age. Enquire of the Printer.

Feb. 29—3t.

A Mill-Seat and Farms.

Situated on Little river, in the county of Loudon at the head of the turnpike road now in its progreſs, will be offered at public ſale to the higheſt bidder on the premiſes, on the 15th day of May next (if fair, or on the next fair day.)

The ſeat for a large manufacturing mill being immediately at the fork of the roads leading from Snicker's and Aſhby's gaps, affords alſo a moſt eligible ſtand for a DISTILLERY, STORE and TAVERN; and the land which is of good quality, is alſo well adapted to the Plaiſter of Paris—has an abundant ſupply of wood and at leaſt 100 acres of bottom fit for meadow—The tract containing upwards of 900 acres will be ſold in large or ſmall diviſions to accommodate purchaſers; and the terms will be one third of the money in hand upon the receipt of a clear deed free from incumbrances [of every kind—and the ballance in two equal annual inſtalments (with intereſt) from the day of ſale; the purchaſers to receive the rents on the land when due from the tenants, whoſe terms will expire at the end of this year.

Inquiries reſpecting the ſaid property may in the mean time be made of Mr. Solomon Betton reſiding near it.

FERDINANDO FAIRFAX.

Charles Town, Jefferſon county, Virginia

Feb. 29—wt15M.

The ſubſcriber has the honor

to inform the ladies and gentlemen of Waſhington and Georgetown, that he has returned for the purpoſe of taking LIKENESSES, and will reſume his buſineſs at the rooms lately occupied by him in the houſe of Mr. David Shoemaker on F. ſtreet near the bank of the United States, in the city of Waſhington.

ST. MEMIN.

Feb. 29—3t